adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacaboan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iubqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel commantiuj, tochacatl injc quilpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtte-qujtia in calla açotl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açotl qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj.

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *omoyo tetlacuicuiloch*—or adultery.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injqujpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenquiçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani,- aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujzzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia M3* contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia M3*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inoncuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imaxtlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained [302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red 336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiacahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors; [[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border 242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltencoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmaxtlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmaxtlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic one caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
● 561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacaxcaltia vmpa quimixcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitocaiotia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yuan vmpa quinpotonia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*vna manta con vnas listas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras diuersas labores de colorado que se llamana colochpalli: y . . . vn mantle labrado de colorado, largo que arrastrase hâsta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todas colores.*"

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyouenetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Tetzuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Ueican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacaoan in ie tlein quichioa, quimopictia: njman ie ic quinemjlia in quenjn vel quichioazque: auh in ovel quinemjlique, njman ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā yiolic, in quitlanelhuitivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valnertia in tlavíztli, çan vallepachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in jiolic quivallanelhuitiaque: auh ie no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic onnauhtetix. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz vntetl quauhtli, ontetl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, iehoatl in Topāltemoctzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Tlacutzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl ichoatl in Temilotzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Coiovevetzin: njmā ie ic oneoa: ce ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quintequitlanelhuja, iuhquin patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in tetzuhtitlan in q'niacacotonazque, in quinvilitequizque. Auh in jquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quintlacomotlazque: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa quiniacatzacujlico in tiiacaoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalozquja mjec in atlan mjc, in polacq̄ in illacque, ça netech ommotilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlalonequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach moçoquiqueloque, omach moçoquipetzcoque, vel chachaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh, oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā ontonacamjcque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in jquac ommjquico in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça cactimanca:

auh ic vallaque in Españolez in vncan amaxac, vel vmpa acito, in vmpa tlantoque in macevaltin, vel techiaoaloque, vel motetemmā in iauiotl, in vel vncā amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā ic calaquito in telpuchcali: motencoa veican: iehica ça vncan monechicoaia in jzquich telpuchtli: njman ie ic tlcoque in tlapanco. Auh in jzquich macteallí: njman ie ic onnmotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vel tiiacauh quachic itoca, Vitzilhoatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, oc iuhquin tenamjtl muchiuh, oc ic achi cno-

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8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde eran la yglesia de la ciudadela."
9. Ibid.: "Yndiosuma Ilqueua a donde estaua el seguro de los mancebos."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España." in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criabaa como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at